

Fourth Generation War

Insurgency on Steroids

Disclaimer

- Not official DoD position
- Not official Marine Corps position
- Not approved by National Defense University

Purpose

- Part I: How and why warfare has changed
- Part II: What that means in Iraq

It's Just a Model

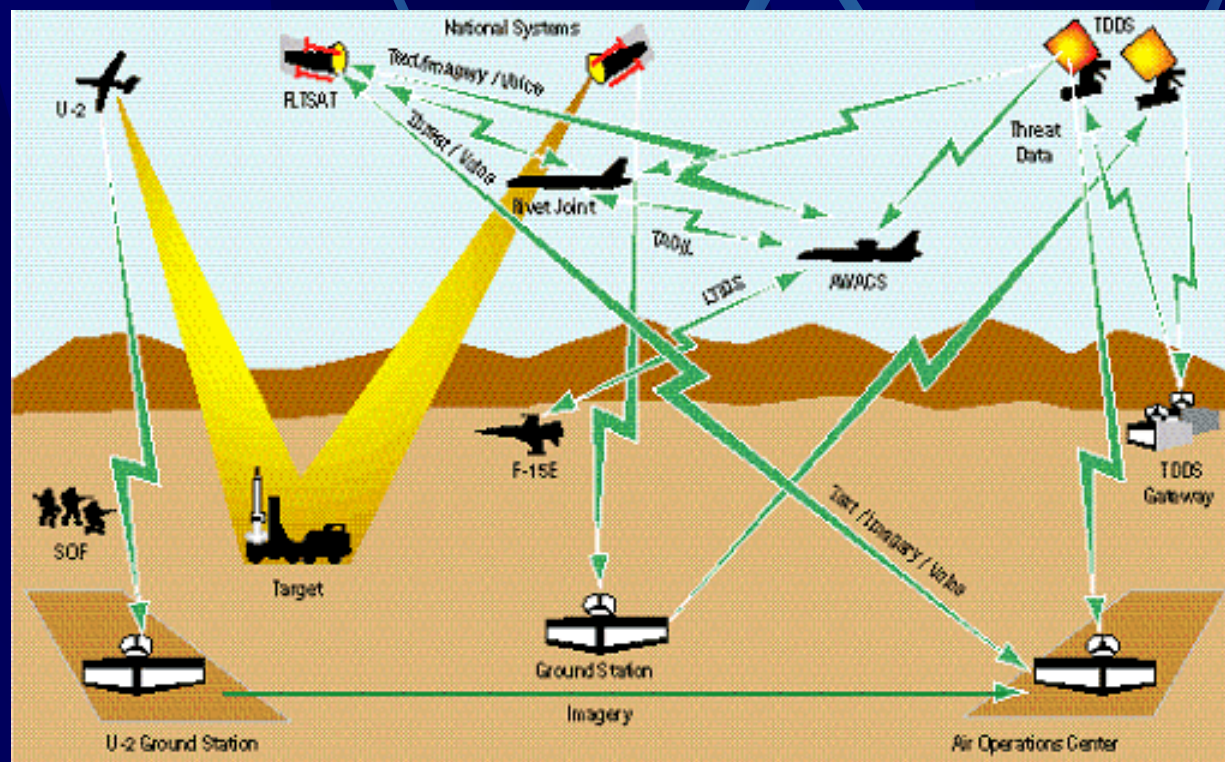
- **Varied terminology used in descriptions**
 - Toffler's Waves
 - Form of Energy
 - Generations
- **Fourth Generation Construct**
 - Focus on modern war
 - Just one model

War is Evolving

- Widespread agreement
- What it will be – widespread disagreement
- Majority (DoD/Contractors)
 - High Technology
- Minority Opinion
 - Insurgency evolved

Hightech War

- Systems fighting systems
- Essentially Network Centric/Transformation
- Assumes information dominance – STILL
- Technology is a vital, if not the essential, element
- Very Short Wars



Insurgency Evolved

- People and ideas are the key elements
- Requires political solution
- Very long term

THINK DECADES

Film Clip

Key Question -

Why does war
evolve?

War Reflects Society

- Economic
- Political
- Social
- Technology

First Generation - Massed Manpower

- Tactics: Line and Column
- Technology: Muzzle Loaders



1st Generation - Massed Manpower

- Economy with surplus of people and resources
- Nation States – mobilize population and resources
- Social “rules of war” grew out of Thirty Years War and Treaty of Westphalia
 - External discipline for troops – “scum of the earth”
- Technology – musket, muzzle load arty

Second Generation - Massed Firepower

- Tactics:
 - Mass Firepower
- Technology:
 - MGs
 - Indirect Arty



2d Generation - Massed Firepower

- Industrial economy – mass production
- Nation state for total mobilization
- Social pressure that kept men at the colors – despite horrendous losses
 - Internal discipline for troops
- Technology – railroad, telegraph, small arms, artillery

Third Generation - Maneuver

- Tactics:
 - Penetration
 - Disruption
- Technology
 - Armor
 - SP Arty
 - Tac Air
 - Radio



3d Generation - Maneuver

- Mechanized economy
- Nation state capable of innovation
- Society that produces mechanics, pilots, etc.
 - Trust troops with freedom of action
- Technology – internal combustion, aircraft, radio
- Almost 90 YEARS OLD!!
- NetCentric Warfare

Reality

- Each generation attacked to the depth of available weapons systems.
- Generational changes driven by changes across society – not just technology
- Continuing and continual process

What will the New Generation Be? Indicators

- **Societal changes**

- **Economic**
- **Political**
- **Social**
- **Technical**

- Recent history

- Common sense

Economic

- Information vice industrial
- Economies more intertwined
 - International vice national corporations
 - Web vice hierarchy
- Economic structure drives political



Political

- LOTS more players
 - Nations: 51 versus 189
 - Markets: Electronic Herd and Supermarkets
 - International, subnational, transnational orgs
- Nation state yielding power
 - Interest rates
 - Tariffs

Social

- Webs/nets rather than hierarchies
- Interests rather than national loyalties
 - International – Business, UN, markets
 - Transnational movements – Religion, Drugs
 - Subnational movements – Basques, Kurds
 - Causes – PETA, Green Peace, etc

Technical

- Instantaneous transmission of information
- Webbed information links versus vertical
- Electronic versus motorized
- Sensors over shooters
- Exploiting information

Indicators

- Societal changes
 - Economic
 - Political
 - Social
 - Technical
- **Recent history**
- Common sense

Recent History

- Previous generations foreshadowed
 - Mass Firepower (WWI) – US Civil War 1863-65, Boer War 1898, Russo-Japanese War 1905
 - Maneuver Warfare (WWII) – German Offensives 1915 and 1918

Recent History

- Extensive foreshadowing
- Limited survey
 - China
 - Vietnam
 - Nicaragua
 - Palestine
 - Terrorism

China

- Mao – Political struggle is PRIMARY
- Organized all of society
- Three phases
 - One – Political organization
 - Two – Guerrilla fight – “change correlation of forces”
 - Three – Conventional fight – ONLY after Phase II is successful

Vietnam

- Imitated and improved on Mao
- Used international networks to change correlation of forces
- Tet 68 disaster tactically, strategic victory
- Used political power to negate US military power
- Still ended with conventional invasion



Nicaragua

- NEVER sought military victory
- Target was US Congress
 - International media, churches, celebrities, liberation theology
- Defeated Somoza politically
- Moved into the vacuum



Palestinians - Intifada I

- First Intifada spontaneous eruption
- Never even had a military aspect
- Organized within weeks
 - 3 levels
 - Local
 - National
 - International
- Loosely affiliated – “self organizing web”

Palestinian Strategy

- Message

- International – children vs. powerful army
- Israelis – Israel proper safe, occupied zone unsafe
- Palestinians – We are holding our own

- Result – 1993 Oslo Accords

- 1st ever Arab force to seize and hold Israeli territory - 1993

Intifada I - Children vs Army

The Lasting Images



Al Aqsa Intifada

- Reverses roles
 - Israel back to besieged
 - Palestinians back to ruthless terrorists
 - US position
 - Arafat has to go
 - No negotiation until terror stops
 - Supports Israeli security techniques

Al Aqsa Intifada - Oppression



Muhammad and his father cower behind a concrete wall



Muhammad's father, Jamal, tries to shield him



"Don't shoot", Jamal shouts to Israeli troops



Shots ring out



Muhammad collapses in his father's arms



Muhammad dies and the father is badly wounded

Suicide Bombers



The Next Generation?



How?

- Palestinians
 - Arafat returns
 - Focus on restoring his power
 - Eliminated new internal leadership
 - Placate factions
 - Corruption
 - Terror attacks – suicide bombings!!
 - Public image of defiance
 - **Reversion to pre-Intifada approach**

How?

● Israelis

- Maximize coverage of terrorists
- Remain reasonable in public
 - Will negotiate when attacks cease
- Actions indicate permanent seizure of West Bank
 - Sharon's record on Settlements
 - Expansion of settlements, Jerusalem, "security" roads
- Use of 4GW techniques to cover destruction of Palestine

Other cases

- Afghanistan: Network of tribal/religious groups
- Chechnya: Networks of family/tribal
- South Lebanon: Hizbollah

Indicators

- Societal
- Recent History
 - Shift from maneuver warfare to neutralize/destroy forces to information warfare to “attack” decision makers
- **Common Sense**

Common Sense

- War is “contest of opposing wills”
 - Desert Storm/Kosovo
 - Afghanistan/Iraq
- Cost of hightech vs insurgency
- Record of success
 - Conventional = Status quo
 - Korea, Arab-Israel ('56, '67,'73), Falklands/Malvinas, Iran/Iraq, Desert Storm
 - Unconventional (netwar) = Change
 - China, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Malaya, Aden, Intifada I, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Somalia,
 - 5-0 versus Superpowers

Comparison

- 3d Generation – Maneuver (Network Centric)
 - Almost 90
 - Focuses on “servicing targets”
 - “System of systems” is just new technology updating old techniques
 - Essentially industrial age conflict
- 4th Generation -- Insurgency evolved
 - New concept – multi-discipline attack on minds of decision makers
 - Based on information society
 - Matches society – networked, transnational, information based
 - Information age conflict

Summary

- Replacement to maneuver has evolved
- Continues to be used
 - Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya
- It is insurgency evolved
- 3d and even 2d generation enemies will continue to exist

Definition of 4GW

- Uses all available networks – political, economic, social and military
- Attacks policy makers directly – IMAGES
- Superior political will defeats greater economic and military power.
- Wars are measured in decades.

We are BEHIND!!

- JV 2020 – Base for the pillars is information dominance
- What does technology look for?
- Who has access?
- Who has experience?
- Who has organization to use information?

4GW Enemies

- Nation State –
 - Uses 4GW approach to neutralize US power
 - Mixed with earlier generations
- Non-nation State Organization
 - Uses 4GW approach
 - Not vulnerable to earlier generation attacks

China - 4 GW Nation State

- No Limit War Theory- not 'official'; good insight
 - 'New concept of weapons'
 - Diplomatic warfare
 - Economic warfare
 - Financial warfare
 - Cyber warfare
 - Media/information warfare
 - Network warfare
 - Ridicules US focus on "military-technological domain"

China in Practice

- System of Alliances
 - Not like Soviets. Don't seek control. Think venture capitalist
- Seek vulnerabilities
 - Financial and economic
- Goal:
 - Neutralization of American Power in their sphere of influence

Al Qaeda

- Prototypical Non-nation State 4GW enemy
 - Transnational coalition of willing
 - Idea based
 - Networked
 - Strategic guidance is vertical commander's intent
 - Tactical support is horizontal
 - Move only ideas and money
 - Buy everything in target country
 - Continued operation



Afghanistan

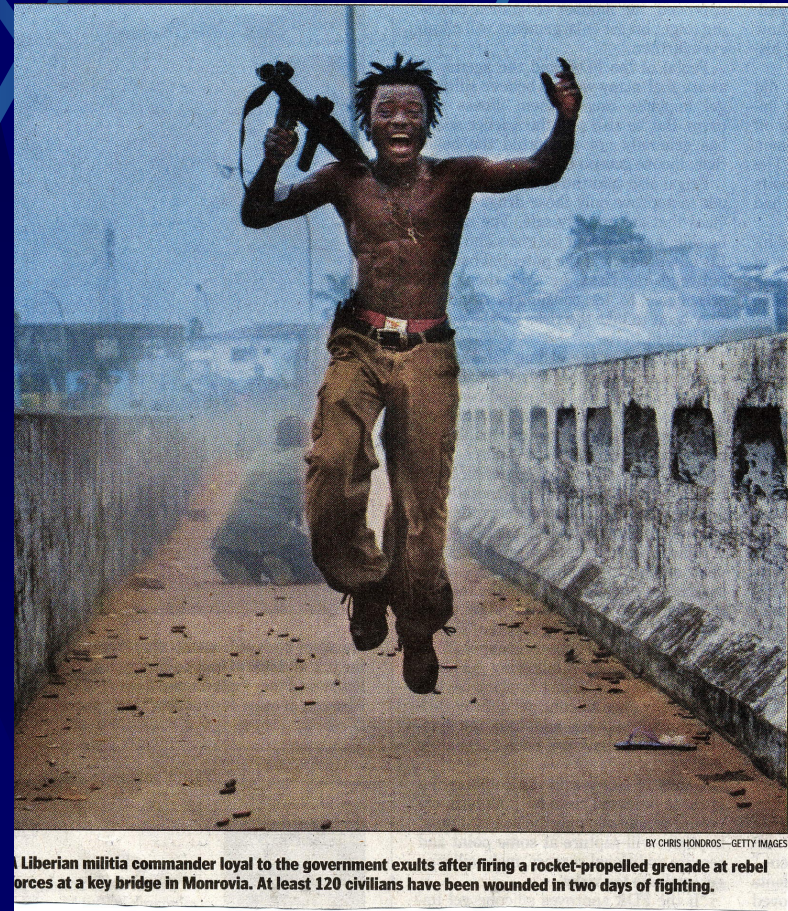
- Essentially tribal = network
- Tribal war overlaid on religious and xenophobic aspects
- NOT subject to high technology solutions
- Person to person contact and low tech counter-insurgent techniques are working
- Shaving micro-seconds off targeting is useless in a years long struggle

Iraq

- Tribal, ethnic and religious issues
 - Invisible to high technology
 - Understanding is essential to any solution
 - Micro seconds still irrelevant
- Classic 4GW approach
- Network of the willing
- Plan to beat us
- Discuss in detail next hour

Problem changed - Solutions must too

- Requires a human network
 - Employ all assets on our side
 - Analyze “the net” not order of battle
 - “the net” is different in every society
 - Iraq vs Somalia vs Palestine vs Tongs vs Bin Laden
- New science – Chaos and Network Theories
- Tools are different
 - Operational forces
 - Intelligence assets
 - HUMINT



BY CHRIS HONDROS—GETTY IMAGES
A Liberian militia commander loyal to the government exults after firing a rocket-propelled grenade at rebel forces at a key bridge in Monrovia. At least 120 civilians have been wounded in two days of fighting.

Clausewitz's Caution

- “the first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish by that test the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into, something that is alien to its nature.”

Let's make sure we get it right.

Additional Information

“The Sling and the Stone”

www.d-n-i.net

Final Disturbing Thought

- Fifth Generation is incubating now
 - Political – Post-nation state
 - Economic-Transient companies
 - Social – Transient allegiance
 - Technology - Bio tech, Nano-tech, Always on Net
- **COMING SOON TO A COMMUNITY NEAR YOU!!**



Questions?



BREAK

IRAQ:

Who is who in the
zoo?

Nature of war

- Clearly 4GW
- Goes back to August of 2003
- Targeted attacks
 - UN/Red Cross
 - Coalition members
 - Security forces
 - Iraqis working for Coalition
- Targeted audience– Message to each
- Coalition
 - Iraqis
 - Neutrals

Nature of Enemy

- 28 Identified Groups
- Loose alliance
- 5 Groupings
 - Bathist/Nationalist
 - Foreign Jihad/Ansar Al Islam
 - Radical Sunni
 - Radical Shia
 - Free Lancers

Objectives

- Political goals vary
 - Not unusual – Afghanistan, Palestine, Chechnya
- COMMON GOAL – Get U.S. out
 - Disagree on how fast it must happen
 - Some want rebuild
 - Some want recruiting it provides
 - Some want to build their own structure

Baathists/Nationalist

- Objective – position in new government
- Most likely future enemies
 - Shia and Sunni religious
- Most likely activities
 - IEDs, mortars/rockets, intimidate “collaborators”
- Don't want to die

Foreign Jihads/Ansar al Islam

- Objective – create chaos – weak government - home for terror
- Most likely future enemies-
 - Baathists, secularists. Iraqis who oppose outsiders
- Most likely activities-
 - Suicide bombings, kidnappings, high risk raids
 - Beheadings have slowed (bad image???)
- Willing (some eager) to die

Radical Sunni Imams

- Objective: Get US out fast
- Most likely future enemies: secular Iraqis, Shias
- Most likely activities: C2 node
- Key note: some are Wahabbis

Radical Shia

- Objective: Get U.S. out fast – Sadr dominated Iraq
- Most likely future enemies: Sunnis and moderate Shias
- Most likely activities: Repeat of uprisings, street demonstrations, challenge for control of government in areas

Free Lancers

- Objectives: Varied
 - Personal gain (criminal)
 - Revenge (real and imagined offenses)\
 - Prevent any form of government
- Most likely future enemies: any government
- Most likely activities: Foot soldiers and free lancers

Insurgent analysis

- Disrupting reconstruction
- Driving away coalition members
- Turn Iraqis against CPA and IIG
 - US as oppressors
- Created sanctuaries
- Beginning to wear on US will

Insurgent future activities

- Continue to attack Iraqis who support IIG
- Infiltrate IIG
 - Intel
 - Disrupt from within
 - Gain positions for future government (Sunnis)
- Elections
 - Use them or oppose them
 - Likely split – Sunni oppose, Shia use

Insurgent traits

- Quick learners – Darwinian process
- Differences between Fallujah and Najaf
 - Enemy shooters use better cover
 - Coordinated defenses
 - Coordinated attacks – RPGs, MGs, mortars
- Networks based on family, tribe, religion.....
 - Al Qaeda = Small world network

Likely Insurgent tactics

- Make IIG a puppet of US
 - Hit Iraqi security forces hard – US has to relieve
 - Prove IIG can't provide security
 - Encourage retaliatory strikes by IIG and US

Iraqi Security Forces

- Very short time with real training
- No equipment for about one years
 - Still abused for not going out
- Work schedule
- Holiday schedule
- ONLY JOBS AVAILABLE

Iraqi Security Forces

● Iraqi Armed Forces

- Age 19-40
- Designed to be EXTERNAL force only
- Not changed until March this year
- Many battalions formed this summer with cadre
- No military justice system till transfer

● Iraqi National Task Force

- Specified counterinsurgent mission
- More money
- Some early successes
- Leadership is key
 - 30 years of it meaning death!!

Iraqi Security Forces

- National Guard
 - Formerly Iraq Civil Defense Corps (ICDC)
 - Training varied – 1-2 weeks
 - Provided by US divisions
 - No central program until March
 - Locally recruited and based
 - Most live at home

Iraqi Security Forces

- Iraqi National Police
 - Most despised people in Iraq
 - Initially no training
 - 2 week course – human rights mostly
 - Later 8 weeks
 - Training cell formed in April of this year

Iraqi Security Forces

- Border Police
 - No training program until April
 - No mentors
 - Focus on technology
- Overwhelmed, underpaid

Iraqi Security Forces

- Facilities protection service
 - 2 days training
 - Later 1 week
 - Not paid, not equipped
 - Individual ministry responsibility

Questions?

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4GW Definition

- Fourth Generation Warfare uses all available networks – political, economic, social and military – to convince enemy political decision makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefit. Its fundamental precept is that superior political will can defeat greater economic and military power. Wars are assumed to be lengthy – measured in decades rather than months or years.